

Jan Lencznarowicz

The 'Pacific Solution' in Australian Refugee Policy

In 2001 the Liberal-National Coalition Government led by John Howard introduced the Pacific Strategy, which came to be known as the 'Pacific Solution'. It involved the interception of boats with passengers heading towards Australia and their transfer to Nauru and to Manus Island, belonging to Papua New Guinea (PNG). On these islands, special offshore processing centres were established for asylum seekers or – as they were also called – irregular maritime arrivals. They were not allowed to enter Australia and claim protection there. In 2008 the Labor Government of Kevin Rudd discontinued the Pacific Solution. However, given the sharp rise of unauthorised boat arrivals, the next Labor Prime Minister Julia Gillard re-established the processing of asylum seekers offshore in third countries, that is again in Nauru and PNG. After the Coalition return to power in 2013, true to his election promises Liberal Prime Minister Tony Abbott implemented a much more rigorous policy, known as Operation Sovereign Borders. Since among other measures it also included offshore processing on Nauru and Manus Island, it is seen as the continuation and reinforcement of the previous Coalition's policies towards maritime arrivals.

Since the first boat with five Indochinese landed in Darwin in 1976 the number of boat people had fluctuated. Between 1999 and 2001, 12,179 asylum seekers came to Australian shores, mainly from the Middle East

via Malaysia and Indonesia. Their passage was organised by men, described as ‘people smugglers’, who specialise in the illegal transfer by sea of undocumented travellers.¹ Despite the fact that their operations were increasingly sophisticated, including the use of larger twin-engine vessels with radars and satellite navigation, drownings of many boat people heading for the Australian coast on overcrowded boats, as exemplified by the death of 353 people after one fishing vessel sank on 19 October 2001, caused dismay in Australia.²

At the turn of the century the surge in the numbers of unauthorised boats carrying Muslim asylum seekers alarmed public opinion, especially at the time of the 9/11 attack in the United States. With upcoming parliamentary elections in November 2001, Prime Minister John Howard was eager to win back voters who in the previous elections had supported the anti-immigrant One Nation Party led by Pauline Hanson.³ He declared: ‘we will decide who comes to this country and the circumstances in which they come.’⁴

A swift and decisive introduction of the Pacific Solution in September 2001 was triggered by the so-called *Tampa* incident at the end of August of the same year. The *Tampa*, a Norwegian freighter, took on board 433 people from a stricken Indonesian fishing boat, almost all of them Afghans. The *Tampa* set its course for the port of Merak in Indonesia, as the accident had taken place within the Indonesian rescue zone. However, the rescued demanded passage to Australia and threatened to commit suicide if they were not transported there. Since the Australian authorities instructed the captain to avoid Australian territorial waters, he changed his course several times but finally the *Tampa* entered Australian waters

¹ Janet Phillips and Harriet Spinks, ‘Boat Arrivals in Australia Since 1976’, Parliamentary Library, updated 23 July 2013, http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/BN/2012-2013/BoatArrivals [accessed 20 October 2017].

² Barry York, *Australia and Refugees, 1901–2002: An Annotated Chronology Based on Official Sources*, p. 53, Parliamentary Library, 16 June 2003, https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/Publications_Archive/online/Refugees-contents [accessed 20 September 2017].

³ James Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera: The Story of Australian Immigration*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 189–190.

⁴ John Howard, ‘Election Speeches, 2001, Delivered at Sydney, NSW, October 20th, 2001, <http://electionspeeches.moadoph.gov.au/speeches/2001-john-howard> [accessed 20 October 2017].

near Christmas Island and was boarded by Australian troops. The asylum seekers were not let into Australia. Instead they were sent to Nauru, where their claims for protection were assessed by the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and to New Zealand. By the beginning of 2005, 186 of them had returned to their country of origin, while the rest were resettled for the most part in New Zealand.⁵ Despite international outcry and some criticism at home, 77 per cent of Australians supported the Government's action⁶ and shortly afterwards John Howard won the federal elections.

In the meantime, the Government introduced new legislation to amend the *Migration Act 1958*. Selected islands around the northern mainland were excluded from the 'Australian migration zone' and designated as 'excised offshore places'. Their excision from the 'migration zone' did not result in their removal from Australian sovereign territories. This only meant that unauthorised non-citizens who attempted to enter Australia through these places could not make applications for a protection visa and claim refugee status.⁷ In addition, all efforts were made to intercept them at sea and either send them back to their last country of sojourn, in most cases Indonesia, or transfer them to Australian immigration facilities on Christmas Island, excised from the Australian migration zone, or remove them to a third country in the Pacific. And here we touch upon the Pacific Solution in its precise sense.

Agreements signed with the Republic of Nauru and PNG were linked to some additional Australian assistance, which in the case of Nauru was substantial and incorporated into the agreement. More or less formal approaches on the same issue to East Timor, Kiribati, Fiji, Palau, Tuvalu, Tonga and France failed to bring results.⁸ On the island of Nauru, which

⁵ Harriet Spinks, 'Tampa: Ten Years on', Parliamentary Library, 22 August 2011, http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/Flag-Post/2011/August/Tampa_ten_years_on [accessed 20 October 2017].

⁶ Katharine Betts, 'Boat People and Public Opinion in Australia', *People and Place*, vol. 9, no. 4, 2001, pp. 40–43.

⁷ Moira Coombs, 'Excisions from the Migration Zone – Policy and Practice', Research Note, no. 42, 1 March 2004, <http://apo.org.au/system/files/8333/apo-nid8333-60001.pdf> [accessed 1 December 2017].

⁸ *Select Committee for an Inquiry into a Certain Maritime Incident: Majority Report*, Chapter 1, p. 6 and Chapter 10: *Pacific Solution: Negotiations and Agreements*, Parliamentary Library,

has an area of about 21 square kilometres and about 10,000 residents, two camps were established: the so-called Topside and State House. The facilities in PNG, commonly called the Manus Island Centre, were in fact located in the Lombrum Naval Boat Base on Los Negros Island, off the coast of Manus Island. The centres were managed by the International Organization for Migration (IOM). Refugee claims were assessed by Australian immigration officers, in Nauru in some cases by representatives of the UNHCR, in accordance with the 1951 UN Geneva Convention.⁹ However, these claims were processed outside the jurisdiction of the Australian courts, so asylum seekers had no access to legal assistance and judicial review, and no guarantee of resettlement in Australia was given.

The Manus Island facilities ceased to be used in May 2004, and those on Nauru in February 2008, when the Labor Government abolished the 'Pacific Solution'. Out of 1,637 people detained in these centres between 2001 and 2008, 48 per cent had Afghan and 41 per cent Iraqi nationality. 1,153 (or 70 per cent) were resettled in different countries, including 705 people (or 43 per cent) in Australia, whereas 483 (30 per cent) returned to their countries of origin.¹⁰

The abandonment of the 'Pacific Solution' by the Rudd Government in 2008 was followed by a significant increase in the numbers of undocumented maritime arrivals. Between 2009 and 2013, 841 boats with nearly 52,000 people and 1,700 crew members reached Australian territories.¹¹ As a result, another Labor Prime Minister, Julia Gillard, on the basis of new agreements with the Governments of Nauru and PNG, reopened the

23 October 2002, http://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/Senate/Former_Committees/maritimeincident/report/c10 [accessed 1 December 2017].

⁹ Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, 'Australian Immigration Fact Sheets: Offshore Processing Arrangements', 2005, <http://web.archive.org/web/20051025182708/http://www.immi.gov.au/facts/76offshore.htm> [accessed 1 December 2017].

¹⁰ Janet Phillips, 'The "Pacific Solution" Revisited: A Statistical Guide to the Asylum Seeker Caseloads on Nauru and Manus Island', Background Note, Parliamentary Library, 4 September 2012, http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/BN/2012-2013/PacificSolution [accessed 2 December 2017]; Chris Evans, 'Last Refugees Leave Nauru', 8 February 2008, <http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id%3A%22media%2Fpressrel%2FYUNP6%22> [accessed 2 December 2007].

¹¹ Janet Phillips, 'Boat Arrivals in Australia: A Quick Guide to the Statistics', Parliamentary Library, 23 January 2014, http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1314/QG/BoatArrivals [accessed 3 December 2017].

Regional Processing Centres in these countries in September and November 2012. Her government also signed an asylum seekers transfer agreement with the Malaysian Government. However, the High Court of Australia deemed it invalid. When in 2013 Kevin Rudd regained the Prime Minister's office, he announced tough new measures. Now all asylum seekers were to be subjected to offshore processing and even those found to be refugees would not be resettled in Australia.¹²

On coming to power in September 2013, the Abbott Government extended the above-mentioned policies by the immediate implementation of Operation Sovereign Borders, within a wider framework of regional cooperation, particularly with Indonesia. This military-led border protection operation includes such measures as the prevention of people smuggling, the restoration of temporary, instead of permanent, protection visas, denying refugee status for those who deliberately destroyed their identity documentation and, most notably, intercepting and turning back boats, if it is safe to do so. If it is not, boat people rescued at sea are transferred to the offshore processing centres, since another important component of this policy has been the continuation of offshore processing on Nauru and Manus Island.¹³ Because of all these measures the number of boat arrivals has plummeted and since July 2014 no boat with asylum seekers has reached Australia.¹⁴ The number of detainees in Regional Processing Centres has been gradually decreasing. From the beginning of Operation

¹² Janet Phillips, 'A Comparison of Coalition and Labor Government Asylum Policies in Australia Since 2001', 28 February 2014, http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1314/AsylumPolicies#_ftn27 [accessed 3 December 2017].

¹³ Tony Abbott, 'Swearing-in of the New Coalition Government', 18 September 2013, http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/media/pressrel/2734797/upload_binary/2734797.pdf;-fileType=application%2Fpdf#search=%22media/pressrel/2734797%22 [accessed 3 December 2017]; *The Coalition's Operation Sovereign Borders Policy*, July 2013, <http://sievx.com/articles/OSB/201307xxTheCoalitionsOSBPolicy.pdf> [accessed 3 December 2017].

¹⁴ Janet Phillips, 'Boat Arrivals and Boat "Turnbacks" in Australia Since 1976: A Quick Guide to the Statistics', Parliamentary Library, updated 17 January 2017, http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1617/Quick_Guides/BoatTurnbacks [accessed 3 December 2017]; Peter Dutton, 'Opinion: Operation Sovereign Border Has Been an Outstanding Success', 26 July 2017, *The Courier-Mail*, <http://www.couriermail.com.au/news/opinion/opinion-operation-sovereign-borders-has-been-an-outstanding-success/news-story/afb6133ae8faabb88cefab2b7cf08b44> [accessed 3 December 2017].

Sovereign Borders in September 2013 to the end of August 2017, 2,125 irregular maritime arrivals were transferred there (770 to Manus Island, 1,355 to Nauru). Out of this figure 614 voluntarily returned to their countries of origin. As of 31 August 2017, 1,142 were reported to be housed in these centres (773 on Manus Island, 369 on Nauru).¹⁵ By then, the Government of Nauru had taken over the management of the centre located on its territory and given asylum seekers the freedom to move around the island without restrictions.¹⁶

While the High Court of Australia upheld the legality of the offshore processing of asylum seekers' claims in February 2016, the Supreme Court of Papua New Guinea, in April of the same year, found the functioning of the Manus Centre unconstitutional. As a result, it was formally closed on 31 October 2017. The remaining residents, despite their protests, were moved to accommodation in the local community or a temporary transit centre. Those who failed to gain refugee status are still staying on Manus Island but are expected to return home voluntarily or be removed from PNG. Nobody will be admitted to settle in Australia, not even those who were recognised as refugees.¹⁷ They are to be covered by the US-Australian resettlement deal announced in November 2016 and, despite President Trump's initial reluctance, honoured by his administration. It envisaged the settlement of up to 1,250 refugees from Nauru and Manus Island in the USA in exchange for Australia receiving refugees from camps in Central

¹⁵ Australian Border Force. Newsroom, 'Operation Sovereign Borders: Monthly Update: August 2017', 8 September 2017, <https://newsroom.abf.gov.au/releases/operation-sovereign-borders-monthly-update-august-3> [accessed 2 December 2017].

¹⁶ The Government of the Republic of Nauru, Government Information Office, Media Release, 'No More Detention for Nauru Asylum Seekers', <http://www.naurugov.nr/government-information-office/media-release/no-more-detention-for-nauru-asylum-seekers.aspx> [accessed 2 December 2017]; Seweryn Ozdowski, *Relevance of Australian Immigration and Multicultural Experience to Poland and Contemporary Europe*, Poznań, Instytut Historii UAM, 2015, p. 37.

¹⁷ 'Manus Detention Centre to Close on October 31: Dutton', SBS News, 16 May 2017, <http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2017/05/16/manus-detention-centre-close-october-31-dutton> [accessed 26 November 2017]; Stefan Armbruster, 'Refugees Afraid, Confused as Manus Detention Centre Shutdown Begins', SBS News, 9 July 2017, <http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2017/07/06/refugees-afraid-confused-manus-detention-centre-shutdown-begins> [accessed 26 November 2017]; 'Manus Island Asylum Seekers Removed from Detention Centre', *The Telegraph*, 24 November 2017, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/11/24/manus-island-asylum-seekers-removed-detention-centre/> [accessed 26 November 2017].

America through its Humanitarian Programme. At the end of September 2017, the first refugees from the Nauru and Manus centres departed to the US.¹⁸

In terms of border protection, stopping the influx of unauthorised boat arrivals and deterrence of people smugglers the Pacific Solution and Operation Sovereign Borders were successful. However, they attracted severe criticism and fierce protests from international organisations¹⁹ and press as well as from Australian refugee support groups, some academics, journalists and parliamentarians. For instance, serious concerns were raised in the report of the Senate Select Committee for an inquiry into a certain maritime incident,²⁰ in the *Interim Report* of the Senate Legal and Constitutional Affairs Committee²¹ and in the joint report of A Just Australia, Oxfam Australia and Oxfam Novib.²² These concerns were mostly over the safety

¹⁸ Thomas Albrecht, 'Op-ed by Thomas Albrecht, UNHCR Regional Representative in Canberra', 2 October 2017, <http://www.unhcr.org/en-au/news/latest/2017/10/59d4786c7/op-ed-by-thomas-albrecht-unhcr-regional-representative-in-canberra.html> [accessed 3 December 2017].

¹⁹ UNHCR, 'The UN Refugee Agency, UNHCR Chief Filippo Grandi Calls on Australia to End Harmful Practice of Offshore Processing', 24 July 2017, <http://www.unhcr.org/en-au/news/press/2017/7/597217484/unhcr-chief-filippo-grandi-calls-australia-end-harmful-practice-off-shore.html> [accessed 11 December 2017]; Richard Ewart, 'UNHCR Calls for Immediate Transfer of Refugees out of Manus Island, Nauru to "Humane Conditions"', ABC News, 5 May 2016, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-05-05/unhcr-presses-for-transfer-of-refugees-out-of-detention-centres/7385748> [accessed 11 December 2017]; Ashley Hall, 'UNHCR Says Manus Detention Fails International Standards', ABC PM, 12 July 2013, <http://www.abc.net.au/pm/content/2013/s3802147.htm> [accessed 11 December 2017].

²⁰ *Select Committee for an Inquiry into a Certain Maritime Incident, Report*, Parliamentary Library, 23 October 2002, http://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/Senate/Former_Committees/maritimeincident/report/index [accessed 1 December 2017].

²¹ Senate Legal and Constitutional Affairs Committee, *Conditions and Treatment of Asylum Seekers and Refugees at the Regional Processing Centres in the Republic of Nauru and Papua New Guinea: Interim Report*, May 2016, http://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/Senate/Legal_and_Constitutional_Affairs/Offshore_RPCs/Interim_Report [accessed 1 December 2017].

²² Kazimierz Bem et al., *A Price Too High: The Cost of Australia's Approach to Asylum Seekers*, 2007, <http://resources.oxfam.org.au/filestore/originals/OAus-PriceTooHighAsylumSeekers-0807.pdf> [accessed 1 December 2017]. For the list of reports and other publications on the topic see Elibritt Karlsen, 'Australia's Offshore Processing of Asylum Seekers in Nauru and PNG: A Quick Guide to Statistics and Resources', Parliamentary Library, 19 December 2016, http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/library/prspub/4129606/upload_binary/4129606.pdf [accessed 1 December 2017].

of asylum seekers, particularly children,²³ and harsh living conditions in detention, their allegedly inhumane treatment, instances of abuse, hunger strikes and self-harm. Such incidents as violence in the Manus Centre in February 2014, were widely reported.²⁴ Refugee advocates pointed to the prolonged duration of detention and inevitable trauma and mental harm as well as the lack of independent scrutiny and difficulty in obtaining access to the centres. Considerable attention was also given to the financial cost, seen as excessive, and legal issues. It was claimed that Australia failed to fulfil its responsibility to the international refugee system and violated the principle of international law requiring the non-refoulement of refugees.²⁵

The Pacific Solution has also impacted on neighbouring islands in the region. In the context of the Australian policy of offshore processing they are seen as 'Australia's dumping ground for refugees', as *The Guardian* dubbed the Republic of Nauru.²⁶ The withdrawal of Australian financial support for former residents of the Manus centre after its dismantlement was described as 'a bid to turn Pacific Solution into Pacific problem'.²⁷ Since the *Tampa* crisis aid to Nauru has soared and has been closely tied to the Pacific Solution, critics claim that it was an 'unmitigated bribe', covering short-term costs instead of building for the future.²⁸ It is also argued that criteria focusing on important issues such as sustainable development and health issues are being ignored. Other Pacific Islands' governments are opposed to the prospect that refugees from outside of the Pacific may be permanently resettled in Papua New Guinea and Nauru. Australia is accused of a neocolonial attitude manifested in the use of its economic and

²³ Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, *A Last Resort? National Inquiry into Children in Immigration Detention: Report to the Attorney-General*, Sydney and Canberra 2004, http://www.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/document/publication/alr_complete.pdf [accessed 1 December 2017].

²⁴ Refugee Action Coalition, 'What Really Happened on Manus Island', 17 March 2014, <http://www.refugeeaction.org.au/?p=3179> [accessed 1 December 2017].

²⁵ Bem et al., *A Price Too High*; Karlsen, 'Australia's Offshore Processing'.

²⁶ Ben Doherty, 'A Short History of Nauru, Australia's Dumping Ground for Refugees', *The Guardian*, 9 August 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/aug/10/a-short-history-of-nauru-australias-dumping-ground-for-refugees> [accessed 2 December 2017].

²⁷ 'UN Refugees' Commission Slams Aust Bid to Turn Pacific Solution into a Pacific Problem', *The National*, 31 August 2017, <http://www.thenational.com.pg/un-refugees-commission-slams-aust-bid-turn-pacific-solution-pacific-problem/> [accessed 2 December 2017].

²⁸ Bem et al., *A Price Too High*.

political leverage in the region to get rid of a troublesome domestic issue. It is alleged that instead of meeting its obligations under international and domestic laws it is trying to solve its internal problems by dumping refugees on poor Pacific Island countries which due to climate change may soon themselves face the prospect of sending out climate refugees.²⁹

No doubt, the Pacific Solution, as a fundamental part of the whole range of border protection measures, represents an important change in Australia's refugee policy and the manner in which Canberra is ready to satisfy its obligations under the 1951 UN Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. Despite obvious political and PR losses on the international scene, sustained criticism and widespread protests, both at home and overseas, the main political forces, forming alternative governments in Australia, namely the coalition of the Liberal Party and National Party as well as the Australian Labor Party, regardless of their differences, have mostly been ready to pursue this policy. Given its controversial aspects described above, one cannot but wonder as to the reason for this approach. At the end of January 2017, in their first telephone conversation, which was later leaked to the press, Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull explained his views to President Trump regarding the reasons why the Australian authorities do not allow boat people to reach Australian shores:

The problem with the boats is that you are basically outsourcing your immigration program to people smugglers and also you get thousands of people drowning at sea. So what we say is, we will decide which people get to come to Australia who are refugees, economic migrants, businessmen, whatever. We decide. That is our decision.

And he pointed to the reason for such a policy, saying 'you cannot maintain popular support for immigration policy, [and] multiculturalism, unless you can control your borders.'³⁰

²⁹ Eberhard Weber, 'The Pacific Solution – A Catastrophe for the Pacific!?', *Environment and Ecology Research*, vol. 3, no. 4, 2015, pp. 102–3, <http://www.hrpub.org/download/20150620/EER4-14090336.pdf> [accessed 2 December 2017].

³⁰ 'Full Transcript: Donald Trump and Malcolm Turnbull Telephone Conversation', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 August 2017, <http://www.smh.com.au/world/full-transcript-donald->

In a similar vein, former PM Tony Abbott in his speech in London at the peak of the migration crisis in October 2015 told his audience:

Because it's the Australian government rather than people smugglers that now controls our refugee intake, there was massive public support for my government's decision [...] to resettle 12,000 members of persecuted minorities from the Syrian conflict – per capita, the biggest resettlement contribution any country has made.³¹

It appears that in essence the Pacific Solution is an attempt to reconcile, even at considerable political and propaganda cost, adherence to the UN Geneva Convention and continuation of Australia's generous reception of refugees as well as its role in the world refugee system as one of the leading countries of resettlement with, on the other hand, the political will expressed by the majority of Australians to decide who, and in what numbers and circumstances, will be accepted as new residents and prospective citizens.

Bibliography

Literature

- Betts, Katharine, 'Boat People and Public Opinion in Australia,' *People and Place*, vol. 9, no. 4, 2001, pp. 34–48.
- Jupp, James, *From White Australia to Woomera: The Story of Australian Immigration*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Ozdowski, Seweryn, *Relevance of Australian Immigration and Multicultural Experience to Poland and Contemporary Europe*, Poznań, Instytut Historii UAM, 2015.

trump-and-malcolm-turnbull-telephone-conversation-20170803-gxp13g.html [accessed 2 December 2017].

³¹ Tony Abbott, 'We Know How to End the Europe Crisis,' *The Daily Telegraph*, 27 October 2015, <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/opinion/we-know-how-to-end-the-europe-crisis/news-story/c8ab6926e933e158e90babb5830d1db2> [accessed 2 December 2017].

Websites

- Abbott, Tony, 'Swearing-in of the New Coalition Government', 18 September 2013, http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/media/pressrel/2734797/upload_binary/2734797.pdf;fileType=application%2Fpdf#search=%22media/press-rel/2734797%22 [accessed 3 December 2017].
- Abbott, Tony, 'We Know How to End the Europe Crisis', *The Daily Telegraph*, 27 October 2015, <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/opinion/we-know-how-to-end-the-europe-crisis/news-story/c8ab6926e933e158e90babb5830d1db2> [accessed 2 December 2017].
- Albrecht, Thomas, 'Op-ed by Thomas Albrecht, UNHCR Regional Representative in Canberra', 2 October 2017, <http://www.unhcr.org/en-au/news/latest/2017/10/59d4786c7/op-ed-by-thomas-albrecht-unhcr-regional-representative-in-canberra.html> [accessed 3 December 2017].
- Armbruster, Stefan, 'Refugees Afraid, Confused as Manus Detention Centre Shutdown Begins', SBS News, 9 July 2017, <http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2017/07/06/refugees-afraid-confused-manus-detention-centre-shutdown-begins> [accessed 26 November 2017].
- Australian Border Force. Newsroom, 'Operation Sovereign Borders: Monthly Update: August 2017', 8 September 2017, <https://newsroom.abf.gov.au/releases/operation-sovereign-borders-monthly-update-august-3> [accessed 2 December 2017].
- Bem, Kazimierz et al., *A Price Too High: The Cost of Australia's Approach to Asylum Seekers*, 2007, <http://resources.oxfam.org.au/filestore/originals/OAus-Price-TooHighAsylumSeekers-0807.pdf> [accessed 1 December 2017].
- The Coalition's Operation Sovereign Borders Policy*, July 2013, <http://sievx.com/articles/OSB/201307xxTheCoalitionsOSBPolicy.pdf> [accessed 3 December 2017].
- Coombs, Moira, 'Excisions from the Migration Zone – Policy and Practice', Research Note, no. 42, 1 March 2004, <http://apo.org.au/system/files/8333/apo-nid8333-60001.pdf> [accessed 1 December 2017].
- Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, 'Australian Immigration Fact Sheets: Offshore Processing Arrangements', 2005, <http://web.archive.org/web/20051025182708/http://www.immi.gov.au/facts/76offshore.htm> [accessed 1 December 2017].
- Doherty, Ben, 'A Short History of Nauru, Australia's Dumping Ground for Refugees', *The Guardian*, 9 August 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/>

aug/10/a-short-history-of-nauru-australias-dumping-ground-for-refugees [accessed 2 December 2017].

Dutton, Peter, 'Opinion: Operation Sovereign Border Has Been an Outstanding Success', 26 July 2017, *The Courier-Mail*, <http://www.couriermail.com.au/news/opinion/opinion-operation-sovereign-borders-has-been-an-outstanding-success/news-story/afb6133ae8faabb88cefab2b7cf08b44> [accessed 3 December 2017].

Evans, Chris, 'Last Refugees Leave Nauru', 8 February 2008, <http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id%3A%22media%2Fpressrel%2FYUNP6%22> [accessed 2 December 2007].

Ewart, Richard, 'UNHCR Calls for Immediate Transfer of Refugees out of Manus Island, Nauru to "Humane Conditions"', ABC News, 5 May 2016, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-05-05/unhcr-presses-for-transfer-of-refugees-out-of-detention-centres/7385748> [accessed 11 December 2017].

'Full Transcript: Donald Trump and Malcolm Turnbull Telephone Conversation', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 August 2017, <http://www.smh.com.au/world/full-transcript-donald-trump-and-malcolm-turnbull-telephone-conversation-20170803-gxp13g.html> [accessed 2 December 2017].

The Government of the Republic of Nauru, Government Information Office, Media Release, 'No More Detention for Nauru Asylum Seekers', <http://www.naurugov.nr/government-information-office/media-release/no-more-detention-for-nauru-asylum-seekers.aspx> [accessed 2 December 2017].

Hall, Ashley, 'UNHCR Says Manus Detention Fails International Standards', ABC PM, 12 July 2013, <http://www.abc.net.au/pm/content/2013/s3802147.htm> [accessed 11 December 2017].

Howard, John, 'Election Speeches, 2001, Delivered at Sydney, NSW, October 20th, 2001, <http://electionspeeches.moadoph.gov.au/speeches/2001-john-howard> [accessed 20 October 2017].

Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, *A Last Resort? National Inquiry into Children in Immigration Detention: Report to the Attorney-General*, Sydney and Canberra 2004, http://www.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/document/publication/alr_complete.pdf [accessed 1 December 2017].

Karlsen, Elibritt, 'Australia's Offshore Processing of Asylum Seekers in Nauru and PNG: A Quick Guide to Statistics and Resources', Parliamentary Library, 19 December 2016, http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/library/prs-pub/4129606/upload_binary/4129606.pdf [accessed 1 December 2017].

- 'Manus Detention Centre to Close on October 31: Dutton', SBS News, 16 May 2017, <http://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/2017/05/16/manus-detention-centre-close-october-31-dutton> [accessed 26 November 2017].
- 'Manus Island Asylum Seekers Removed from Detention Centre', *The Telegraph*, 24 November 2017, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/11/24/manus-island-asylum-seekers-removed-detention-centre/> [accessed 26 November 2017].
- Phillips, Janet, 'Boat Arrivals and Boat "Turnbacks" in Australia Since 1976: A Quick Guide to the Statistics', Parliamentary Library, updated 17 January 2017, http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1617/Quick_Guides/BoatTurnbacks [accessed 3 December 2017].
- Phillips, Janet, 'Boat Arrivals in Australia: A Quick Guide to the Statistics', Parliamentary Library, 23 January 2014, http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1314/QG/BoatArrivals [accessed 3 December 2017].
- Phillips, Janet, 'A Comparison of Coalition and Labor Government Asylum Policies in Australia Since 2001', Parliamentary Library, 28 February 2014, http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1314/AsylumPolicies#_ftn27 [accessed 3 December 2017].
- Phillips, Janet, 'The "Pacific Solution" Revisited: A Statistical Guide to the Asylum Seeker Caseloads on Nauru and Manus Island', Background Note, Parliamentary Library, 4 September 2012, http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/BN/2012-2013/PacificSolution [accessed 2 December 2017].
- Phillips, Janet and Harriet Spinks, 'Boat Arrivals in Australia Since 1976', Parliamentary Library, updated 23 July 2013, http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/BN/2012-2013/BoatArrivals [accessed 20 October 2017].
- Refugee Action Coalition, 'What Really Happened on Manus Island', 17 March 2014, <http://www.refugeeaction.org.au/?p=3179> [accessed 1 December 2017].
- Select Committee for an Inquiry into a Certain Maritime Incident, Majority Report*, Parliamentary Library, 23 October 2002, http://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/Senate/Former_Committees/maritimeincident/report/index [accessed 1 December 2017].
- Senate Legal and Constitutional Affairs Committee, *Conditions and Treatment of Asylum Seekers and Refugees at the Regional Processing Centres in the Republic*

of *Nauru and Papua New Guinea: Interim Report*, May 2016, http://www.aph.gov.au/Parliamentary_Business/Committees/Senate/Legal_and_Constitutional_Affairs/Offshore_RPCs/Interim_Report [accessed 1 December 2017].

Spinks, Harriet, 'Tampa: Ten Years on', Parliamentary Library, 22 August 2011, http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/FlagPost/2011/August/Tampa_ten_years_on [accessed 20 October 2017].

UNHCR, 'The UN Refugee Agency, UNHCR Chief Filippo Grandi Calls on Australia to End Harmful Practice of Offshore Processing', 24 July 2017, <http://www.unhcr.org/en-au/news/press/2017/7/597217484/unhcr-chief-filippo-grandi-calls-australia-end-harmful-practice-offshore.html> [accessed 11 December 2017].

'UN Refugees' Commission Slams Aust Bid to Turn Pacific Solution into a Pacific Problem', *The National*, 31 August 2017, <http://www.thenational.com.pg/un-refugees-commission-slams-aust-bid-turn-pacific-solution-pacific-problem/> [accessed 2 December 2017].

Weber, Eberhard, 'The Pacific Solution – A Catastrophe for the Pacific!?', *Environment and Ecology Research*, vol. 3, no. 4, 2015, <http://www.hrpub.org/download/20150620/EER4-14090336.pdf> [accessed 2 December 2017].

York, Barry, *Australia and Refugees, 1901–2002: An Annotated Chronology Based on Official Sources*, Parliamentary Library, 16 June 2003, https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/Publications_Archive/online/Refugeescontents [accessed 20 September 2017].